

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----130067 231320Z /42
O 231258Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6119

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 3324

NODIS

DEPT PLEASE PASSTO LONDON, PARIS, USNATO, AND
GENEVA (USSALTTWO)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM NATO SALT GW
SUBJECT: PREPARATIONS FOR NAC CONSULTATIONS ON SALT

REFS: (A) STATE 46673; (B) BONN 3113

1. WE WENT OVER THE POINTS IN REFTEL (A) THIS MORNING (FEBRUARY 23) WITH AMBASSADOR RUTH, LEAVING SELECTED PORTIONS AS NON-PAPERS TO FACILITATE PROMPT CONSIDERATION WITHIN THE FRG. RUTH UNDERTOOK TO RELAY THEM TO BLECH AS SOON AS HE WAS AVAILABLE SO THAT OUR ADDITIONAL COMMENTS WOULD BE CONSIDERED IN THE FINAL PREPARATION TODAY FOR TOMORROW'S NAC CONSULTATION.
2. RUTH SAID THE FRG SHARED OUR DESIRE TO AVOID THE APPEARANCE OF A US-FRG DIVERGENCE ON SALT ISSUES. HE EXPECTED THAT, IN RESPONSE TO THE US PRESENTATION TOMORROW, AMBASSADOR PAULS WOULD MAKE A SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION, REFLECTING THE SAME SPIRIT OF COOPERATION WHICH MOTIVATED THE US TO ENTER INTO THESE CONSULTATIONS.

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3. WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO NON-CIRCUMVENTION, RUTH SAID THE FRG DID NOT INTEND ITS PRESENTATION TO BE CONTROVERSIAL. NEVERTHELESS, IT WAS NECESSARY TO PRESENT TO THE ENTIRE ALLIANCE THE FRG CONCERNS AND THE RATIONALE FOR THEM. THESE HAD BEEN EXPLAINED SEVERAL TIMES TO THE USG, BUT NEVER TO THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE. WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT THE US APPROACH WAS DEFENSIVE,

IN ORDER TO AVOID A NON-TRANSFER CLAUSE,
THE LONG-STANDING GERMAN CONCERNS OVER THE NON-
CIRCUMVENTION CLAUSE HAD BEEN REENFORCED BY THE
FEBRUARY 11 "PRAVDA" ARTICLE WHICH MADE CLEARER THE
CENTRAL IMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUE FOR THE SOVIETS.

4. RUTH CONTINUED THAT THE FRG HAD OF COURSE NOTED
AND WELCOMED OUR EXPRESSION OF WILLINGNESS TO MAKE A
FORMAL STATEMENT ON NON-CIRCUMVENTION IN THE
NAC AND TO CONGRESS. HE ADDED THAT THE WAY IN WHICH THE
NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROBLEM WAS SOLVED WOULD BE
EXTREMELY IMPORTANT FOR THE WAY IN WHICH SALT II WAS
DISCUSSED BY THE PRESS AND BY POLITICAL FIGURES
IN THE FRG.

5. WITH REGARD TO SALT III AND GRAY AREA SYSTEMS, RUTH
SAID THE ONLY POINT THE GERMANS HAD WISHED TO MAKE WAS
THAT ACCOUNT MUST BE TAKEN IN SOME MANNER OF THE FACT
THAT CRUISE MISSILES WERE INCLUDED IN THE PROTOCOL
WHILE COMPARABLE SOVIET SYSTEMS WERE NOT INCLUDED.
HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS FURTHER THE TACTICAL
DESIRABILITY OF MAKING SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO CRUISE
MISSILES IN THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OR IN SOME OTHER
WAY, THOUGH HE TOOK THE POINT THAT SPECIFIC MENTION
MIGHT BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. THE MAIN PURPOSE WOULD BE
TO SHOW THAT THE TREATMENT OF CRUISE MISSILES IN THE
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PROTOCOL WOULD NOT CONSUME THE SUBJECT. HE ALSO
WONDERED WHETHER THE WORD "FUTURE" IN THE
PROPOSED UNILATERAL STATEMENT ("ANY FUTURE LIMITATIONS
ON US SYSTEMS PRINCIPALLY DESIGNED FOR THEATER
MISSIONS...") MIGHT CAUSE DIFFICULTIES. IT COULD MEAN
THAT LIMITATIONS ALREADY AGREED TO -- I.E., THOSE
ON CRUISE MISSILES IN THE PROTOCOL -- WOULD NOT HAVE TO
BE BALANCED BY LIMITATIONS ON SOVIET THEATER
SYSTEMS IF CRUISE MISSILE LIMITATIONS WERE EXTENDED.

6. RUTH RECALLED PREVIOUS US STATEMENTS THAT WE HAD
ALREADY ASSERTED TO THE SOVIETS AND HAD GIVEN ASSURANCES
TO THE SENATE THAT WE WOULD NOT BE BOUND AFTER THE
PROTOCOL EXPIRED AND THAT THESE ASSURANCES EVENTUALLY
WOULD BE MADE PUBLIC. THE MAIN FRG INTEREST WAS THAT
ANY STATEMENTS ON GRAY AREAS MADE IN CONNECTION WITH
SALT II MAKE CLEAR THAT THE PROTOCOL HAD NOT DISPOSED

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OF THE FUTURE HANDLING OF CRUISE MISSILES.

7. WITH REGARD TO THE ERW, RUTH SAID THAT OUR REASONS FOR CHOOSING THE SS-20 FOR ARMS CONTROL LINKAGE WERE SOUND (AND THAT THE FOREIGN OFFICE MIGHT EVEN BE ABLE TO ADD ADDITIONAL REASONS). SINCE THE MATTER CONCERNED THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE, HOWEVER, THE FRG WOULD CONSIDER IT USEFUL TO DISCUSS OTHER POSSIBLE LINKAGES. THE FRG WOULD NOT RAISE THIS POSSIBILITY IN THE FEBRUARY 24 NAC SESSION, BUT WOULD LIKE FOR THE US AND THE FRG TO CONTINUE TO CONSULT ON THE MATTER BILATERALLY.

8. RUTH ASKED THAT WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE FRG DELEGATION WOULD BE UNABLE TO EXPRESS A DEFINITE VIEW ON ANY OF THE ISSUES TO BE DISCUSSED ON FEBRUARY 24, AS ALL OF THESE WOULD HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED BY THE FEDERAL SECURITY COUNCIL BEFORE A FORMAL GERMAN POSITION COULD BE GIVEN. ON THE ERW QUESTION, HE EXPECTED THAT AMBASSADOR PAULS WOULD SIMPLY TAKE NOTE OF THE US PRESENTATION AND MAKE NO SUBSTANTIVE COMMENTS. HE LEFT OPEN THE POSSIBILITY, HOWEVER, THAT A DIFFERENT APPROACH MIGHT EMERGE FROM THE INTERNAL MEETINGS TO BE
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Message Attributes

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